

Denominations of the Egyptian God Ha

Walid Shaikh Al Arab

Abstract

The desert-god Ha had theologically integrated the ancient Egyptian religious beliefs from a very early period as he was mentioned in the main funeral corpus of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts as well. This survey aims to shed more light on the different aspects of Ha and the role he played in the ancient Egyptian religion throughout an analytical study of his formal and particular names and epithets from the Old Kingdom (2647-2150 BC) to the end of the Greco-Roman period (332 BC-642 AD). Named « $\dot{H}3$: HA, $\dot{H}3$ -*Imn-Wn-nfr*: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre, $\dot{H}3$ $\text{'}3$: Ha-the-Great, $\dot{H}3$ -*m-Št3*: Ha in Sheta, $\dot{H}3$ -*Spd*: Ha-Soped, $\dot{H}3$ -*Skr*: Ha-Soker and $\dot{H}r$ - $\dot{H}3$: Horus-HA », Ha was described as « *Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West », « $\text{'}3$ *phṯy*: Great of might », « *wr šfyṯ*: Great of terror », « *nb phṯy*: Lord of might », « *nṯr mnḥ*: Potent god », « *šḥm dm pt*: Puissance who touches the sky » and « $\dot{k}3$ - ' : High of arm », whose invincibility was thought to provide protection not only for Egypt, especially for the western deserts and their oases against the enemies such as desert nomads, invading Libyan tribesmen, Asiatic people and Bedouin tribes, but also for the Underworld. For the most part, the different names and epithets applied to Ha determine definitely his dual nature of aggressiveness and kindness: he appeared as a powerful warrior who punishes the foreign Lands and, at the same time, he is representing a gentler aspect of a powerful protector and a funerary god.

Keywords: Ha, Horus, West, Soped, Soker, Oases, Underworld

Introduction¹

Being the tutelary god of the 7th nome of Lower Egypt located at the western point of the Delta, the god's Ha's association with the vast Libyan Desert, particularly the regions of the west including the oases, increased as time progressed and he became naturally their principal god. The « *Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West » was attested as early as the third dynasty where he was firstly mentioned in officials' title « *jmj-ḥt Ḥ3*: Follower of Ha ». He was the son of the otherwise unknown god Iaa². The Egyptians had always preferred to represent Ha in a human form, wearing three hills of the hieroglyphic symbol for "desert" or "foreign lands" on his head. The headdress worn by the deity was specific to him; it is a key element for his identification, especially when appearing without inscription

Firstly in 1972, Dieter Wildung wrote a short review about the god Ha entitled "Ha ($\dot{H}3$)" in *LÄ* II, col. 923. In 2002, Christian Leitz³ also recorded the god Ha in his remarkable lexikon. Five years later and in his illustrated dictionary, *L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux*, Jean-Pierre Corteggiani⁴ wrote a short review on Ha. Finally in 2015, in his paper "Ha in Sheta" Andrzej Ćwiek⁵ gave more attention to one of Ha's name, namely $\dot{H}3$ -*m-Št3* and he concluded that the coronation cycle in the Portico of the Birth in the temple of Deir el-Bahari includes a scene of purification of Hatshepsut by a god Ha in Sheta *refers to the initiation of the female pharaoh into*

* I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Gamelin, University of Lille 3 (France) for reading this article and giving his valuable comments.

² See Foster (2001), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 240.

³ See *LGG* V, 10_B-11_C.

⁴ See Corteggiani (2007), *L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux*, pp. 163-164.

⁵ See Ćwiek (2015), "Ha in Sheta", pp. 83-92.

the secrets of the sun god, enabling her to fulfill her role as the provider of sustenance for humanity.

The denominations of Ha define his different aspects as they reveal his nature and personality perceived by the ancient Egyptians. Having a radiant worship for about three thousand years, it seems that the names and qualifiers attributed to the desert-deity witnessed many changes during this long period. They were varied according to the roles played by the god in the Egyptian pantheon. This survey gathers the formal and particular names given to the god Ha, his titles and his honorary appellations from the Old Kingdom (2647-2150 BC) to the end of the Greco-Roman period (332 BC-642 AD) as well as their developments. Consequently, this study is an attempt to know whether the appellations of this divinity do vary according to the period? So we have studied the roles he played throughout his denominations.

The names and epithets are classified according to the alphabetical hieroglyphic order. The following abbreviations have been used in this study:

GF(s) : Graphical Form(s)	MK : Middle Kingdom
G.-R. : Greco-Roman Period	NK : New Kingdom
LP : Late Period	OK : Old Kingdom

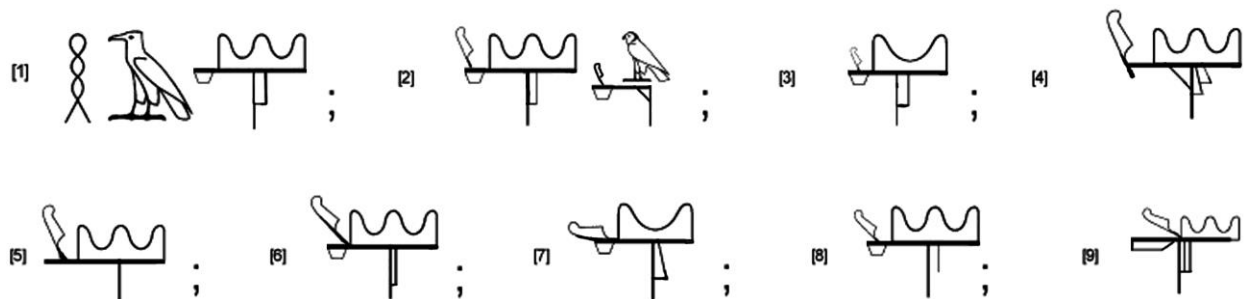
II. Ha's Names:

Ha appears under several names according to the various aspects and the evolution of his cult.

II.1- H3: HA

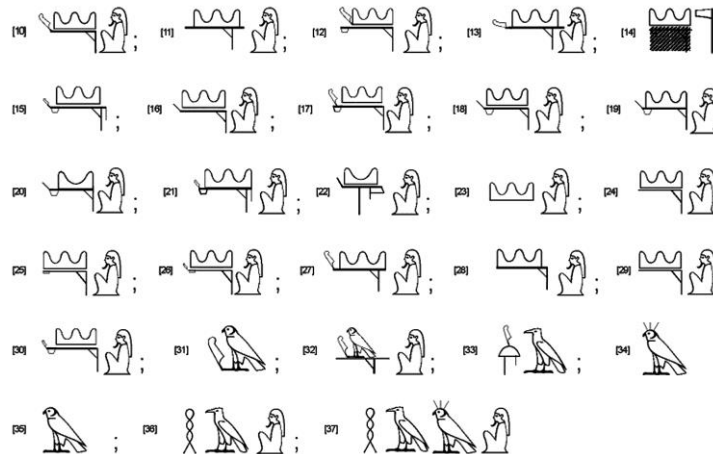
The name of Ha occurs with considerable frequency in the ancient Egyptian texts. The following scripts of his name are collected:

Ha's GFs in the OK⁶

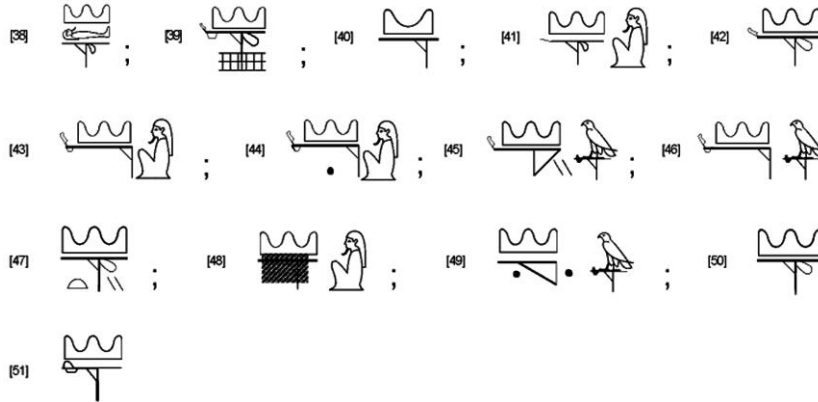


⁶ For the scripts of Ha's name in the OK, see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [9]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 253; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 610 (Pyr. § 1712b): [=GF n° 1-2]; Allen, (2005), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 29; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 37; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 204 (Pyr. §119b: [=GF n° 3]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [19]; Borchardt (1907), *Ne-user-re*, p. 113: [=GF n° 4]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [23]; Junker (1934), *Giza II*, p. 159 (n° 17): [=GF n° 5]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [24]; Lepsius (1849), *Denkmäler II*, pp. 27 and 29: [=GF n° 6]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [25]; Mariette (1889), *Les mastabas*, p. 228, 230 (D19) : [=GF n° 7]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [26]; Mariette (1889), *Les mastabas*, pp. 228, 230 and p. 400 (E8) [=GF n° 8]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [33]; Ziegler, (1999), *L'art égyptien*, p. 209 (n° 55); Reisner (1942), *Giza necropolis I*, pl. 17: [=GF n° 9]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [47]; Junker (1939), *ZÄS 75*, p. 70 (n° 34): [=GF n° 4].

Ha's GFs in the MK⁷



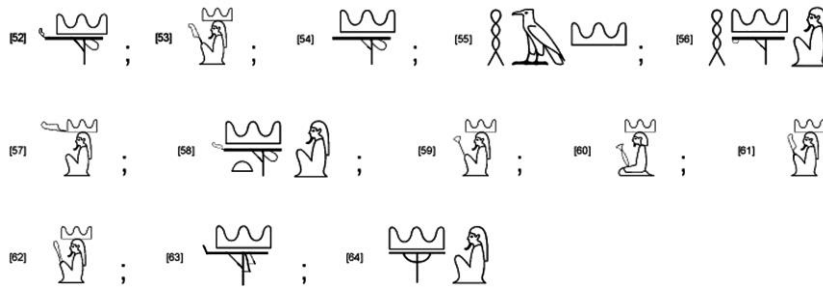
Ha's GFs in the NK⁸



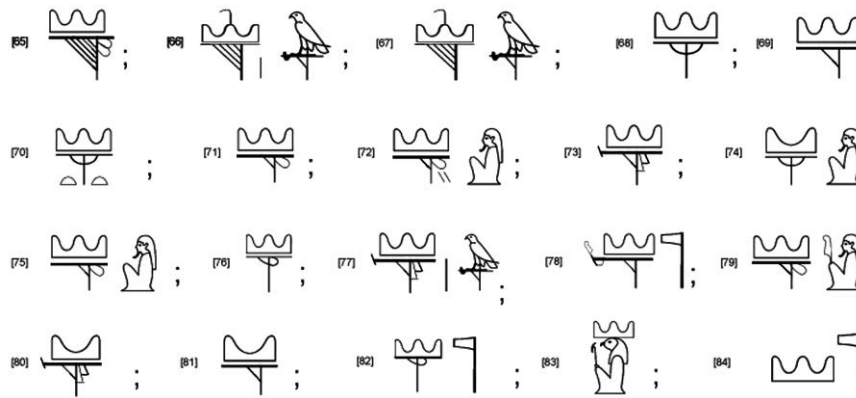
⁷ For the GFs of Ha's name in the MK, see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [1]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts I*, p. 25; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts I*, spell 36 (139c) [=GF n° 10-14]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [2]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts I*, p. 140; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts II*, spell 162 (395c) [=GF n° 15-21]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [3]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 121; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts VI*, spell 479 (38aa) [=GF n° 22]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [4]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 207; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts VI*, spell 624 (240p) [=GF n° 23]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [5]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 288; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts VI*, spell 755 (384o) [=GF n° 24]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [6]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 289; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts VI*, spell 756 (386a) [=GF n° 25]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [13]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts I*, p. 234; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts IV*, spell 313 (90e) [=GF n° 26]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [14]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 34; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts V*, spell 398 (125a) [=GF n° 27-30]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [31]; Brunner-Traut and Brunner (1981), *Die Ägyptische Sammlung I*, p. 211 and II, pl. 40 [=GF n° 31]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [42]; Chassinat and Palanque (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles*, p. 16 [=GF n° 32-35]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [42]; Gauthier (1923), *ASAE* 23, p. 5 [=GF n° 36]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [45]; Chassinat and Palanque (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles*, p. 16 [=GF n° 18-21]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [48]; Kamal (1913-1914), *ASAE* 16, p. 71, 76. [=GF n° 36-37].

⁸ For the GFs of Ha's name in the NK, see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [11]; Piankoff (1942), *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 27 [=GF n° 38]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [12]; Naville (1901), *Deir El Bahari IV*, pl. 110 [=GF n° 39]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [15]; Helck (1957), *Urkunden IV*, 1555, 16 [=GF n° 40]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [17]; Seele (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 31 [=GF n° 41]; Kitchen (2014), *Ramesside Inscriptions VII*, p. 17; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [27]; *KRI VII*, 23, 4 [=GF n° 42]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [28]; Monnet, (1951) *RdÉ* 8, 159-160 [=GF n° 43-46]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [29]; Koefoed-Petersen (1951), *Catalogue des sarcophages*, p. 17, pl. 25 [=GF n° 47]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [34]; Davies (1923), *Tomb of Puyemrê*, p. 5, pl. 47 [=GF n° 48]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [39]; Leitz (1994), *Tagewählerei*, pp. 434-435 [=GF n° 49]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [41]; Junge (1987), *Elephantine XI*, p. 19 (n° 3.1.6.1) [=GF n° 50]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [53]; Thiem (2000), *Gebel es-Silsileh*, p. 207, 334 [=GF n° 51].

*Ha's GFs in the LP*⁹










*Ha's GFs in the G.-R.*¹⁰

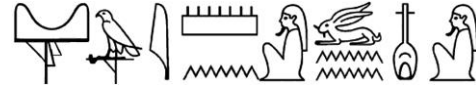


⁹ For the GFs of Ha's name in the LP, see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [16]; Vercoutter (1962), *Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 65, pl. 9 [=GF n° 52]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11 [=GF n° 53]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [20]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 88, pl. 34B [=GF n° 54]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [21]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 158, pl. 51A [=GF n° 55]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall): [=GF n° 56]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [37]; Perdu (1994), *Musée de Picardie*, pp. 112-113 [=GF n° 57]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [40]; Naville (1892), *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 12, 7 [=GF n° 58]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8 (n°) [=GF n° 59-61]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [49]; Chassinat (1899), *RecTrav XXI*, p. 67 [=GF n° 62]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [49]; Chassinat (1900), *RecTrav XXII*, p. 179 [=GF n° 63]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [68]; Josephson (1999), *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, p. 75 [=GF n° 64].

¹⁰ For the GFs of Ha's name in the G.-R., see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [7]; Beinlich (1991), *Das Buch vom Fayum*, pp. 481-483, pl. 17 [=GF 65-67]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 91, 92, 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22104), pl. 32 (n°CG 22105), CG 22191, [=GF 68-71]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [44]; Goyon (1975), *BIFAO 75*, p. 388, 389 [=GF 72]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [50]; Spiegelberg (1906-1908), *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, p. 274 (n° 25) [=GF 73]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [51]; Rochemonteix (1984), *Edfou I*, 1, p. 53 (n° 52) [=GF 75]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8 [=GF 74]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [54]; Chassinat (1933), *Edfou VIII*, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138 [=GF 75]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [55]; Rochemonteix (1987), *Edfou I*, 3, p. 331, 16 [=GF 73]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [56]; Daumas (1959), *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, p. 141 (n° 24) [=GF 76]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [57]; Cauville (2004), *Dendara V-VI*, p. 112, 113; Chassinat (1947), *Dendara V*, p. 30, 9 [=GF 76]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [58]; Chassinat (1987), *Edfou II*, 1., p. 31, 15 [=GF 73]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [59]; Osing (1998), *Hieratische Papyri*, p. 241, pl. 24 [=GF 77]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86) [=GF 78]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [61]; Morgan (1895), *Kom Ombos I*, 282, E [=GF 79]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [62]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou II*, 2, p. 289, 2 [=GF 80]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [63]; Chassinat (1928), *Edfou III*, p. 107, 5 [=GF 74]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [64]; Chassinat (1928), *Edfou III*, p. 226, 14, pl. 73 [=GF 81]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [65]; Chassinat (1928), *Edfou III*, p. 342, 7 [=GF 81]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195 [=GF 82]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [67]; Chassinat (1931), *Edfou VI*, 301, 14 [=GF 83]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [70]; Buhl (1959), *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, p. 43 [=GF 80]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [71]; Buhl (1959), *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, p. 103 [=GF 84].

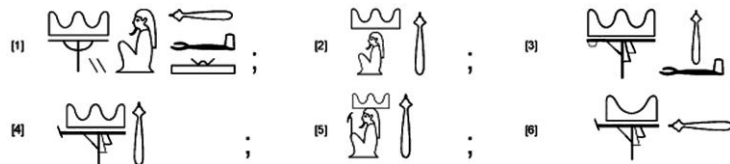
H3 is the formal and most common name for the god Ha. Its earliest occurrence is being part of official's title « *jmj-ht H3*: Follower of the god Ha »¹¹. The name of the god Ha was written with the hieroglyphic sign representing a landscape feature of a triple mountain  [N25], sometimes a mountain with two points  [N26], placed on a standard  [R12], to which can be added an ostrich feather  [H6] that one finds in Imentet's name. The hieroglyph  stands for *h3st*: "mountain", "desert", "foreign country". The different graphical forms of Ha's name end usually with the determinative of masculine divinities  [A40], but very rarely they terminate with the determinative of cloth wound on a pole  [R8] or without any determinative.

II.2. *H3-Imn-Wn-nfr*: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre



This seemingly *hapax* name is not identified by Leitz. It occurs only once in a written record in connection with Ha. It is written in the south wall of the burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosē from Er Rizeikāt¹²: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre is entitled « *Hry-tp m3t*: Master of right ». Hayes¹³ translates this name as HA, Amon and Wen-nofre, but the singular suffix pronoun of the second person coming after deity's name refers to a singular composite divine form.

II.3. *H3 3*: Ha-the-Great



Ha-the-Great is collected by Christian Leitz in his valuable lexikon¹⁴. This name wasn't known before the NK and more precisely in the inscriptions of the tomb n° 192 in the Theban necropolis¹⁵. *H3 3*'s legend was unfortunately damaged and his epithets disappeared¹⁶. In the LP, his only known GF¹⁷ was followed by his standard title: « *Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West ». In the G.-R., the GF¹⁸ of this compound name are much more inscribed on the walls of the temples. *H3 3* is described as: « *ntr 3*: Great god », « *Hry-ib Twnt*: He who resides in Iounet », « *Hw h3swt*: He who strikes the foreign Lands », « *Ptpt Mntyw*: He who destroys the *Mntyw*-tribe », « *swd3 dt ntr n km3 sw ir s3=f mk h3=f*: He who takes care of the body of the one who created him, makes his protection and protects his body », « *ntr mnḥ*: Potent god », « *ir nht n it=f dr dḥw nb r=f*: He who makes protection for his father and repulses all evil from him », « *hk3 h3swt*: Ruler of the foreign Lands », « *hk3 Tmḥw*: Ruler of of the Libyans », « *nb M3nw*: Lord of *M3nw*- Western Mountain » and « *hk3 h3t wrt*: Ruler of Great necropolis ».

¹¹ See Wildung, (1972), *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* I, pp. 157-159.

¹² See Hayes (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosē*, p. 19 and pl. 5.

¹³ See Hayes (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosē*, p. 19.

¹⁴ See *LGG* V, 11c [1-7]

¹⁵ This tomb is the largest private tomb known from the 18th Dynasty and was intended to be the final resting place for Kheruef, the royal scribe and steward to Amenhotep III's principal wife, Queen Tiye, but the tomb was abandoned before completion and Kheruef was apparently buried elsewhere.

¹⁶ For the GFs of *H3 3* in the OK see *LGG* V, 11c [3]; The Epigraphic survey (1980), *The tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 21, 4: [=GF 3].

¹⁷ See *LGG* V, 11c [1]; Schott (1929), *Urkunden* VI, 33, 4: [=GF 1].

¹⁸ For the GFs of *H3 3* in the G.-R., see *LGG* V, 11c [2]; Brugsch (1891), *altägyptischer Denkmäler*, p. 1576: [=GF 2]; *LGG* V, 11c [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172: [=GF 6]; *LGG* V, 11c [5]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou* II, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c: [=GF 6].

II.4. *H3-m-Št3*: Ha in Sheta



This *hapax* toponym is addressed by Christian Leitz in his valuable lexikon¹⁹. *H3-m-Št3* is inscribed in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir-el-Bahari, precisely on the last but one scene on the west wall of the upper register of the walls of the Portico of the Birth. This name consists of three words: Ha's name, a preposition and a place name. Andrzej Ćwiek analyzed separately the three signs constructing the place name and he concluded that the general idea of secret, mystery, hiding is involved in this word. the determinative of town might suggest that it is the city of secrets. One might translate this name as: "Ha is in the palace of secrets". No epithet is attributed to Ha in Sheta.

II.5. *H3-Spd*: Ha-Soped



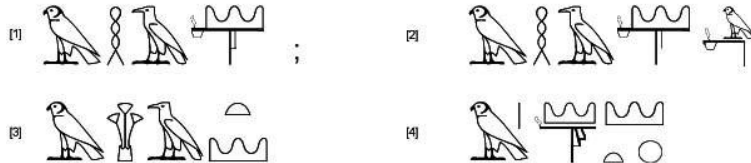
This composite name occurs only once in a written record in relation with the desert-deity. Ha-Soped was mentioned only in the the MK²⁰. *H3-Spd* can be followed by the standard title of Ha: « *nb Imntt*: Lord of the West ».

II.6. *H3-Skr*: Ha-Soker



The only occurrence of this composite name is attested in the G-R.²¹ This *hapax* name is entitled « *nb 3ht*: Lord of horizon ».

II.7. *Hr-H3*²²: Horus-HA



The occurrence of this compound name was well known from a very early period as he was mentioned in the oldest known corpus of the Pyramid Texts dating to the OK. *Hr-H3*'s name was written in the religious texts which were found in each of the pyramids of Pepi I, Merenre I and Pepi II²³.

In the MK²⁴, *Hr-H3* was called « *s3 nḏ it=f*: the son who protects his father »²⁵. In the LP, the only known drawing of this composite divine form was carved in the North Reveal of the entrance doorway of the Sanctuary (A)²⁶. Horus-Ha appears as a Male figure wearing his distinctive headdress of the foreign land sign. His right hand is gripping a knife, while his left one is holding a bow. He drags a captive in each hand (=Fig. 1)

¹⁹ See *LGG* V, 11c [1].

²⁰ This name is not identified by Leitz. For the GF of this name, see Gauthier (1923), *ASAE* 23, p. 19.

²¹ See *LGG* V, 10b-11a [8]; Maspero (1908), *Sarcophages*, p. 55.

²² For the GFs of *Hr-H3*, see *LGG* V, 272c [2]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 170; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 483 (Pyr. § 1013d): [=GF n° 1-2]; *LGG* V, 272c [1]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts* II, p. 58; Buck (1961), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* VII, 111d (Utterance 483): [=GF n° 3]; *LGG* V, 272c [3]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 5, 4 (North Reveal): [=GF n° 4].

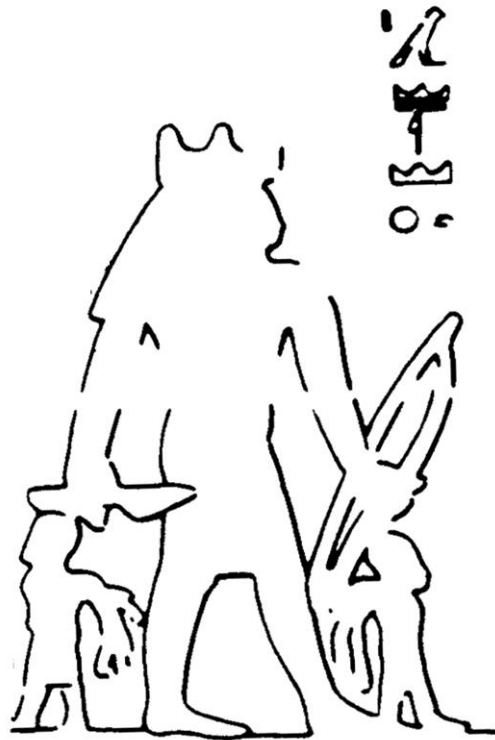
²³ See *LGG* V, 272c [2]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 170; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 483 (Pyr. § 1013d): [=GF n° 1-2].

²⁴ See *LGG* V, 272c [1]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts* II, p. 58; Buck (1961), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* VII, 111d (Utterance 483): [=GF n° 3].

²⁵ For this appellation see *infra*, epithet n° 36.

²⁶ See *LGG* V, 272c [3]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 5, 4 (North Reveal): [=GF n° 4].

Fig. 1: the god Horus-Ha



After: Davies, (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, pl. 5, 4 (North Reveal).

II.8. *Sbsw-H3*: Sebsebu-Ha²⁷



In the late texts, Ha is occasionally called "*Sbsw-H3*: Sebsebu-Ha" in a magical context. Neither title nor honorific appellation followed this name of Ha.


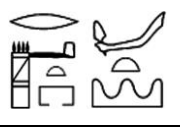




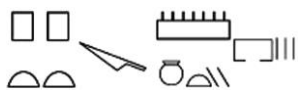

III. God's Ha Epithets

N ^o	Epithet	Graphical form(s)	Dating
			Ha's name(s)
(1)	« <i>Imy dw3t</i> : He who is in the netherworld » ²⁸		NK
			<i>H3</i>
(2)	« <i>ir nht n it=f dr dw nb r=f</i> : He who makes protection for his father and repulses all evil from him » ²⁹		<i>H3 3</i>

²⁷ See LGG II, 829_A; Verhoeven (1993), *Das saitische Totenbuch I* (Text), p. 239 (Utterance 125, 56, 24) and II (Hieroglyphic Transcription), p. 84* (Utterance 125, 56, 24).

²⁸ See Le Page Renouf and Naville (1904), *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p. 91, pl. 14.

²⁹ See LGG V, 11_C [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 10, pl. 172.

(3)	« <i>ir nhw n Sr-hdt</i> : He who makes effective protection for the Prince of the White Crown(= Osiris) » ³⁰		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(4)	« <i>Iry hrt dsrt</i> : Guardian of the sacred necropolis » ³²		NK <i>H3</i>
(5)	« <i>3 phty</i> : Great of might » ³³		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(6)	« <i>rk-ins</i> : He who binds the red strip » ³⁴		LP <i>H3</i>
(7)	« <i>wr šfyt</i> : Great of terror » ³⁵		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(8)	« <i>wdi-r-srk m Fnhw</i> ³⁶ : He who puts an end to Asiatic people » ³⁷		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(9)	« <i>Ptpt Mntyw</i> ³⁸ : He who destroys the <i>Mntyw</i> -tribe » ³⁹		G.-R. <i>H3 3</i>
(10)	« <i>Nb 3ht</i> : Lord of Horizon » ⁴⁰		G.-R. <i>H3-Skr</i>

³⁰ See LGG V, 10_B-11_C [57]; Cauville (2004), *Dendara V-VI*, p. 112, 113; Chassinat (1947), *Dendara V*, p. 30, 9.

³¹ *hrt* is a euphemism frequently used to designate the tomb or the region of the tombs, the necropolis, see H. Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques I*, p. 156.

³² See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [17]; Seele (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 31.

³³ See LGG V, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86).

³⁴ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11; LGG V, 10_B-11_B [49]; Chassinat (1900), *RecTrav XXII*, p. 179.

³⁵ See LGG V, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86).




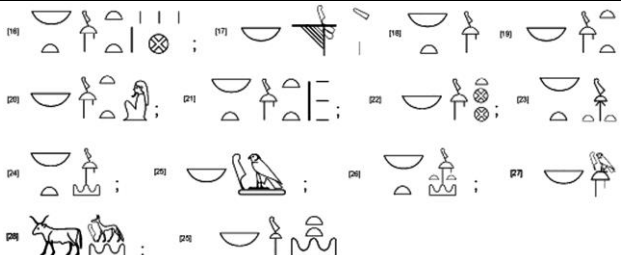
³⁶ *Fnhw*, which is a common name meaning "the attached, the captives", was applied in a general way to all foreign populations of ancient Asia, See Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques II*, p. 161.

³⁷ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

³⁸ *Mntyw* is a tribe of the Libyan Desert, living on the Nile water in its eastern part and rainwater in its western part. Its permanent resident was located in the zone of the Libyan desert which extends to the west of the first cataract of the Nile, see Gauthier (1926), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III*, p. 43.

³⁹ See LGG V, 11_C [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

⁴⁰ See LGG V, 10_B-11_A [8]; Maspero (1908), *Sarcophages*, p. 55.

(11)	« Nb Imntt: Lord of the West ⁴¹ »	
		MK ⁴² H3 H3-Spd
		NK ⁴³ H3
		LP ⁴⁴ H3
		G.-R. ⁴⁵ H3 H3 3




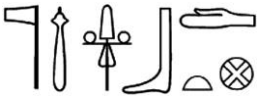
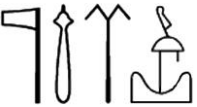



⁴¹ The Ancient Egyptians were exceedingly fond of puns, believing that homophony in language was no meaningless coincidence. They crop up frequently in both religious and informal contexts. In our case, the word Imntt stands not only for the western desert and its oases, but also the land of the hidden ones (underworld).

⁴² For the GFs of this title in the MK, see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [13]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts I*, p. 234; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts IV*, spell 313 (90e) [=GF n° 1]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [14]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 34; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts V*, spell 398 (125a) [=GF n° 1-3]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [31]; Brunner-Traut and Brunner (1981), *Die Ägyptische Sammlung I*, p. 211 and II, pl. 40 [=GF n° 4]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [42]; Chassinat and Palanque (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles*, p. 16 [=GF n° 1, 3, 4, 5]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [45-46]; Gauthier (1923), *ASAE* 23, p. 5, 19 [=GF n° 1]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [48]; Kamal (1913-1914), *ASAE* 16, p. 71, 76 [=GF n° 6].

⁴³ For the GFs of this title in the NK, *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [15]; Helck (1957), *Urkunden IV*, 1555, 16 [=GF n° 7]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [29]; Koefoed-Petersen (1951), *Catalogue des sarcophages*, p. 17, pl. 25 [=GF n° 8]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [34]; Davies (1923), *Tomb of Puyemrê*, p. 5, pl. 47 [=GF n° 7]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [39]; Leitz (1994), *Tagewählerei*, pp. 434-435 [=GF n° 9]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [41]; Junge (1987), *Elephantine XI*, p. 19 (n° 3.1.6.1) [=GF n° 10]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [53]; Thiem (2000), *Gebel es-Silsileh*, p. 207, 334 [=GF n° 8].

⁴⁴ For the GFs of this title in the LP, see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [20]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 88, pl. 34B: [=GF n° 11]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [21]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 158, pl. 51A: [=GF n° 12]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall): [=GF n° 13]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [38]; Gasse (1996), *Les sarcophages*, p. 210, pl. 58: [=GF n° 14]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [40]; Naville (1892), *The festival-hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 12, 7: [=GF n° 1]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [68]; Josephson (1999), *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, p. 75 [=GF n° 15].

⁴⁵ For the GFs of this title in the G.-R., see *LGG V*, 10_B-11_A [7]; Beinlich (1991), *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 481-483, pl. 17: [=GF 16-17]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 91, 92, 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22104), pl. 32 (n° CG 22105), CG 22191: [=GF 18-20]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [44]; GOYON (1975), *BIFAO* 75, p. 388, 389: [=GF 21]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [55]; Rochemonteix (1987), *Edfou I*, 3, p. 331, 16 [=GF 22]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [56]; Daumas (1959), *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, p. 141 (n° 24): [=GF 23]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [59]; Osing (1998), *Hieratische Papyri*, p. 241, pl. 24: [=GF 16]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86): [=GF 23]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [63]; Chassinat (1928), Émile, *Edfou III*, p. 107, 5: [=GF 25]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195: [=GF 26]; *LGG V*, 11_C [2]; Brugsch (1891), *altägyptischer Denkmäler*, p. 1576: [=GF 27]; *LGG V*, 11_C [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172: [=GF 28]; *LGG V*, 11_C [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c: [=GF 29].

(12)	« <i>nb phty</i> : Lord of might » ⁴⁶		LP <i>H3</i>
(13)	« <i>nb M3nw</i> ⁴⁷ : Lord of <i>M3nw</i> -Western Mountain » ⁴⁸		G.-R. <i>H3</i> <i>H3 3</i>
(14)	« <i>ntr 3</i> : Great god »		LP ⁴⁹ G.-R. ⁵⁰ <i>H3</i> <i>H3 3</i>
(15)	« <i>ntr 3 (m) 3bdw</i> : Great god in Abydos » ⁵¹		LP <i>H3</i>
(16)	« <i>ntr 3 m Imntt</i> : Great god in the West » ⁵²		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(17)	« <i>ntr 3 n sp3wt</i> : Great god of nomes » ⁵³		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(18)	« <i>ntr mnht</i> : Potent god » ⁵⁴		G.-R. <i>H3 3</i>
(19)	« <i>Hw mntyw</i> : He who strikes the <i>Mntyw</i> -tribe » ⁵⁵		G.-R. <i>H3</i>

⁴⁶ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8 (n°).

⁴⁷ It is a mountainous and mysterious region of the Libyan desert, to the west of Egypt, where went down the sun and the moon and where lived the dead, see Gauthier (1926), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III*, p. 43.

⁴⁸ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8: [=GF 1]; *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [54]; Chassinat (1933), Émile, *Edfou VIII*, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138: [=GF 2]; *LGG V*, 11_C [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c: [=GF 3].

⁴⁹ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall): [=GF 1].

⁵⁰ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86); *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195: [=GF 1]; *LGG V*, 11_C [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172: [=GF 2].

⁵¹ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [20]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 88, pl. 34B

⁵² See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_B [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

⁵³ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [57]; Cauville (2004), *Dendara V-VI*, p. 112, 113; Chassinat (1947), *Dendara V*, p. 30, 9.

⁵⁴ See *LGG V*, 11_C [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 10, pl. 172.

⁵⁵ See *LGG V*, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86).

(20)	« <i>Hw h3swt</i> : He who strikes the foreign Lands » ⁵⁶		G.-R. <i>H3 3</i>
(21)	« <i>Hry wpt</i> : Master of judgment » ⁵⁷		LP <i>H3</i>
(22)	« <i>Hry r3-st3w</i> : Master of the necropolis » ⁵⁸		LP <i>H3</i>
(23)	« <i>Hry 3b.wy</i> : Master of Two Horns » ⁵⁹		LP <i>H3</i>
(24)	« <i>Hry-ib Twnt</i> ⁶⁰ : He who resides in Iounet » ⁶¹		G.-R. <i>H3 3</i>
(25)	« <i>Hry-ib N33rrf</i> ⁶² : He who resides in Naârref » ⁶³		LP <i>H3</i>
(26)	« <i>Hry-ib Hbt</i> ⁶⁴ : He who resides in Hibis » ⁶⁵		LP <i>H3</i>
(27)	« <i>Hry-tp Mntiw</i> : Chief of <i>Mntyw</i> -tribe » ⁶⁶		G.-R. <i>H3-3</i>
(28)	« <i>Hry-tp m33t</i> : Chief of right » ⁶⁷		NK <i>H3-Imn-Wn-nfr</i>
(29)	« <i>hsk tp</i> : He who cuts off the head » ⁶⁸		LP <i>H3</i>

⁵⁶ See LGG V, 11c [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

⁵⁷ See LGG V, 10B-11B [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11.

⁵⁸ For the epithets « *Hry r3-st3w* » and « *Hry 3b.wy* », see LGG V, 10B-11B [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8.

⁵⁹ For this nomination, see note n° 58.

⁶⁰ *Twnt* was the ancient Egyptian name of the capital of the VIth Nome of Upper Egypt, now Dendara (دندرة), see Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques I*, p. 56.

⁶¹ See LGG V, 11c [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

⁶² *N33rrf* is a Locality very often cited on religious texts as being in relation with Osiris, the god of the dead. There was the necropolis of the chief town of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt Heracleopolis Magna, today إهناسيا المدينة. The reading of this name has varied a lot and its meaning is unclear: it has generally been translated "the place where nothing grows", but it would be a strange name for a place where was precisely preserved the sacred tree of the nome, see Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaires des noms géographiques I*, pp. 66-67.

⁶³ See LGG V, 10B-11B [37]; Perdu (1994), *Musée de Picardie*, pp. 112-113.


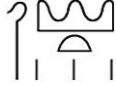
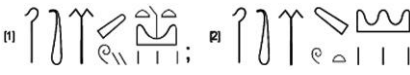

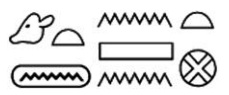



⁶⁴ *Hbt* was the Egyptian name of the capital of the great oasis of El-Kharga, now Hibis (هيبس), see Gauthier (1927), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques IV*, p. 4.

⁶⁵ See LGG V, 10B-11B [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall).

⁶⁶ See LGG V, 11c [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c.

⁶⁷ See Hayes (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mos3*, p. 19 and pl. 5.

⁶⁸ See LGG V, 10B-11B [38]; Gasse (1996), *Les sarcophages*, p. 210, pl. 58.

(30)	« <i>ḥk3 ḥt</i> ⁶⁹ wrt: Ruler of Great necropolis » ⁷⁰		G.-R. <i>H3-ḥ3</i>
(31)	« <i>ḥk3 ḥ3swt</i> : Ruler of the foreign Lands » ⁷¹		G.-R. <i>H3-ḥ3</i>
(32)	« <i>ḥk3 Tmḥw</i> ⁷² : Ruler of of the Libyans » ⁷³		G.-R. <i>H3, H3-ḥ3</i>
(33)	« <i>ḥbḥb Ṣ3sw</i> ⁷⁴ : He who trample down the Bedouin tribes » ⁷⁵		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(34)	« <i>ḥnty Tw-nšny</i> ⁷⁶ : He who presides over the Island of-fury » ⁷⁷		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(35)	« <i>ḥnty pr Hr-ḥt n=f ḥdt</i> : He who presides over the sanctuary of Horus who takes possession of the white crown =Dendara » ⁷⁸		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(36)	« <i>s3 nd it=f</i> : the son who protects his father » ⁷⁹		MK <i>Hr-H3</i>
(37)	« <i>swd3 dt ntr n km3 sw ir s3=f mk ḥt=f</i> : He who takes care of the body of the one who created him, makes his protection and protects his body » ⁸⁰		G.-R. <i>H3 ḥ3</i>

⁶⁹ For ḥt, see *supra*, note 31.

⁷⁰ See LGG V, 11c [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou* II, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c.

⁷¹ See LGG V, 11c [2]; Brugsch (1891), *altägyptischer Denkmäler*, p. 1576.

⁷² See Gauthier (1929), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* VI, pp. 75-76.

⁷³ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [54]; Chassinat (1933), *Edfou* VIII, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou* VIII, p. 138: [=GF 1]; LGG V, 11c [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Edfou* II, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c [=GF 2].

⁷⁴ Ṣ3sw is a term used to refer generally to nomadic and plundering populations. The Bedouin tribes encamped in the tents and wandered on the edge of the deserts from the borders of Egypt to the north of Lebanon and around Aleppo. The Egyptians applied the name to all those barbarians who came from its northeast border, see Gauthier (1928), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* V, pp. 106-107.

⁷⁵ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

⁷⁶ « *Tw-nšny*: the island of fury, or of misfortune » is a territory's name belonging to the temple of Horus at Edfu, see Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaires des noms géographiques* I, p. 46.

⁷⁷ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [54]; Chassinat (1933), *Émile, Edfou* VIII, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou* VIII, p. 138.

⁷⁸ See LGG V, 10_B-11_C [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara* X, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86): [=GF 1]; LGG V, 10_B-11_C [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara* X, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195 [=GF 2].

⁷⁹ See LGG V, 272_C [2]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 170; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 483 (Pyr. § 1013d).

⁸⁰ See LGG V, 11c [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara* III, p. 27, 10, pl. 172.

(38)	« <i>sni wsrt</i> : He who cuts off the neck » ⁸¹		LP
			H3
(39)	« <i>sh̄m dm pt</i> : Puissance who touches the sky » ⁸²		G.-R.
			H3
(40)	« <i>k3-Ꞁ</i> : High of arm » ⁸³		G.-R.
			H3
(41)	« <i>di Ꞁnh</i> : He who gives life » ⁸⁴		LP
			H3
(42)	« <i>di Ꞁnh w3s nb mi RꞀ dt</i> : He who gives life and prosperity like Ra every day » ⁸⁵		LP
			H3
(43)	« <i>di Ꞁnh mi RꞀ dt</i> : He who gives life like Ra forever » ⁸⁶		LP
			H3
(44)	« <i>di=f htpw nbwt n Wsir hnty- jmntyw</i> : He who gives all the offerings to Osiris 'Foremost of the Westerners » ⁸⁷		G.-R.
			H3
(45)	« <i>di msni=f m Sttyw</i> ⁸⁸ <i>hsy</i> : He who point his knife in the miserable Asiatic people » ⁸⁹		G.-R.
			H3
(46)	« <i>dgi hnty-imntyw</i> : Gardian of Foremost of the Westerners (=Osiris) » ⁹⁰		NK
			H3

IV. Results and Discussion

After this enumeration of the different names and epithets applied to the god Ha, certain points are determined as follows. It is now evident that the study of Ha's denominations is still in its infancy because the documents coming from the VIIth nome of Lower Egypt and the Western Desert of Egypt and their oases are very little or not published. Further excavations particularly in the area around Ha's principal cult centers and further studies of collections with Egyptian and Levantine objects would unavoidably augment the list of Ha's names and titles proposed here.

⁸¹ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [38]; Gasse (1996), *Les sarcophages*, p. 210, pl. 58.

⁸² See LGG V, 10_B-11_C [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195.

⁸³ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [54]; Chassinat (1933), *Edfou VIII*, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138.

⁸⁴ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [20]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 88, pl. 34B.

⁸⁵ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [40]; Naville (1892), *The festival-hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 12, 7.

⁸⁶ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall).

⁸⁷ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22191).

⁸⁸ *Sttyw* is a toponym given, from the ancient historical ages, to the region located to the north-east and east of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria, See Gauthier (1928), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques V*, pp. 95-96.

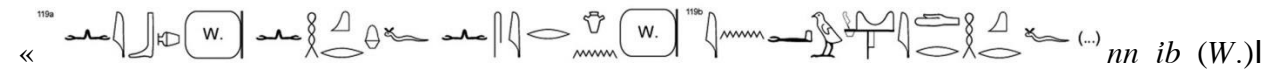
⁸⁹ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

⁹⁰ See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [17]; Seele (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 31.

The historical development of Ha's cult, starting from the OK, was characterized by such increasing associations with other deities, particularly Amon, Horus, Sopod and Soker. Due to such associations, Ha gained some diffusion, both in terms of geographical distribution and semantic contexts.

The occurrence and use of Ha's names and epithets don't seem to be geographically restricted. His traditional main cult centers in the VIIth nome of Lower Egypt and the Western Desert of Egypt including their oases revealed through the time being discussed; merely a few number of his known denominations. The Upper Egyptian inscriptions contributed more than those of Lower Egypt to the list of Ha's names and epithets. It is significant to indicate that Ha's epithets outside Egypt cannot be noted thus far.

Ha was the supervisor of the production of commodities in the desert regions⁹¹. This role is well explained by the OK officials' title: « *jmj-ht H3*: Follower of Ha » which probably referred to the god's function. His protection extended to practical help for the deceased in the underworld. Ha was therefore the god who protected against hunger and provided nourishment in the underworld. He is entitled « *di=f htp nbt n Wsir hnty-imntyw*: He who gives all the offerings to Osiris Khenti-Amentiu "Foremost of the Westerners" »⁹². This role is well explained in the Pyramid of Unis, utterance PT 204 (Pyr. § 119b) which reads:

«  *nn ib (W.) | nn hkr=f nn sy r ib n (W.) | in ʿw H3 idr hkr=f (...)* : Unis will not thirst, Unis will not hunger: it will not be against the heart of Unis. Ha's arms are what repel his hunger »⁹³.

Qualified as « *ʿ3 phty*: Great of might », « *wr šfyt* : Great of terror», « *nb phty*: Lord of might », « *ntr mnḥ*: Potent god », « *Hry ʿb.wy*: Master of Two Horns », « *hsk tp*: He who cuts off the head », « *sni wsrt*: He who cuts off the neck », « *šm dm pt*: Puissance who touches the sky » and « *k3-ʿ*: High of arm », Ha defended Egypt against its foes. This is expressed in his common epithets: « *hk3 h3swt*: Ruler of the foreign Lands », « *Hwi h3swt*: He who strikes the foreign Lands ». Hence the desert deity's appellations « *wdi-r-sʿrk m Fnḥw*: He who puts an end to Asiatic people », « *di msni=f m Sttyw ḥsy*: He who point his knife in the miserable Asiatic people » and « *hbhb Š3sw*: He who trample down the Bedouin tribes », imply his protective role against the Bedouin tribes and Asiatic people.

In parallel, the « *ntr ʿ3 m Imntt*: Great god in the West » provides protection for the western deserts and their oases from enemies such as desert nomads and invading Libyan tribesmen under his epithet « *Ptpt Mntyw*: He who destroys the *Mntyw*-tribe », « *nb M3nw*: Lord of *M3nw*-Western Mountain », « *Hw mntyw*: He who strikes the *Mntyw*-tribe » and « *hk3 Imḥw*: Ruler of the Libyans ».

Additionally, Ha was also associated with the underworld as he is called: « *Imy dw3t*: He who is in the netherworld », « *Iry ʿhʿt dsrt*: Guardian of the sacred necropolis », « *Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West » « *Hry r3-sʿ3w*: Master of the necropolis », « *ntr ʿ3 m Imntt*: Great god in the West » and « *hk3 ʿhʿt wrt*: Ruler of Great necropolis ».

Ha was the defender of Osiris Khentamenti against Seth who, by the time of the Ptolemies, had become the personification of evil. This role is well explained in the Papyrus of Imhotep, son of

⁹¹ See Altenmüller (2013). "Zu zwei Titeln des Alten Reiches, ein Vorschlag zu ihrer Interpretation. Die Titel des „Priesters der Heqet“ und des „Gefolgsmanns des Ha“, pp. 1–14.



⁹² See LGG V, 10_B-11_B [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22191).


⁹³ See Allen (2005), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 29; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 37; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 204 (Pyr. § 119a-b).

Pshentohe, dated to the Ptolemaic Period and currently located at New York (MMA 35.9.21). One of its passages reads:





« (...) *ir iw=k m Imntt shr.tw=k ntrw Imntt Nt W3dyt Shmt Inpw Ršp ntr 3 H3 nb Imntt ir=sn nt^cw=sn m=k (...): (...)* If you come from the West, the gods of the West, Neith, Wadjet, Sachmet, Bastet, Anubis, Reshef the great god (and) Ha Lord of the West, will throw you down. They will fulfill their destination concerning you (...) ». In his epithets, Ha is entitled « *ir nhw n Sr-ḥdt*: He who makes effective protection for the Prince of the White Crown (= Osiris) » and « *dgi hnty-imntyw*: Gardian of Foremost of the Westerners (=Osiris) ».

His protective role extended not only to the Creator god «  *swd3 dt ntr nt km3 sw, ir s3=f, mk ḥ^c=f*: He who takes care of the body of the one who created him, makes his protection and protects his body », but also to his father « *s3 nd it=f*: the son who protects his father » and «  *ntr mnḥ ir nht nt it=f, dr ḏw nb r=f*: Potent god who makes protection for his father and repulses all evil from him ».

Ha had strong links with the royal power because he helped the pharaoh to achieve his political and religious mission by approaching him to his people: «  *rdi=i mrwt=k m ib nb mi Hr ḥr mnty n 3st*: I place your love in all heart like Horus on the knees of Isis »⁹⁴.

Ha also offers protection to the king. There are many occasions when the god had to be reminded of this protection for the pharaoh. Ha says to the king:

«  *rdi=i n=k phty r w3w3 ḏw nb r=k, irr ḏw r=k m nmt*⁹⁵: I give to you the might against those who plot all evil against you and anyone does evil against you, (will go) to the place of judgment »⁹⁶,

«  *rdi=i n=k wsr r sm3 hftyw=k nht(=i) ḥ=k r rḫww=k*: I give to you the power to smite your enemies. I strengthen your arm against your

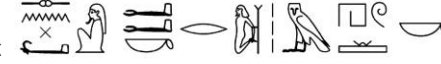
⁹⁴ See Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

⁹⁵ *Nmt* is a toponym where the blood-eating god, one of the forty-two infernal tribunal judges, sacrificed his victims, see Gauthier (1926), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III*, p. 93.


⁹⁶ See Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8

adversaries »⁹⁷, «  *rdi=i n=k phty mi S3-3st snht=i ʿ=k r bt nrw=k*: I give to you might like Son of Isis (=Horus) and I make your arm strong

against your foes »⁹⁸, «  *phty n hm=i r hpš.wy=k*: The might of my

Majesty is together with your arms » and «  *snht=i ʿ.wy=k r hftyw m h3w=k*: I make strong your arms against your ennemies in your reign »⁹⁹.

Finally the aspect of Ha as a funerary god is especially prominent in the regions of the west where the necropolis was under his safekeeping. As « Lord of the west », Ha is invoked as the only god in an offering formula in the tomb n° (TT 39) of Puiemra, the second prophet of Amun under the reign of Hatshepsut¹⁰⁰. The text reads:

«  *htp di n(y)-swt (n) H3 nb Imntt di=f wnn hr=f n imy-ht m Imntt nfrt n k3 n (...)*: An offering given by the king to Ha Lord of the West, that he may grant residence at his court as one of his train in the kindly West, to the ka of (...) ». This part of the formula indicates that the offering is seen as being under the auspices of the god Ha who is the patron deity of the local funerary establishment that actually provided the offering.

V. Conclusion

Ha was an important deity holding several names « *H3*: HA, *H3-Imn-Wn-nfr*: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre, *H3 ʿ3*: Ha-the-Great, *H3-m-Št3*: Ha in Sheta, *H3-Spd*: Ha-Soped, *H3-Skr*: Ha-Soker and *Hr-H3*: Horus-HA » and diverse epithets which obviously reflect the different aspects and roles that he played in the Egyptian pantheon. His funerary aspect was especially prominent in the regions of the west, where the necropolis was under his safekeeping. At the same time, Ha was the god protecting against hunger and provided nourishment in the underworld.

The « *Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West » was thought to protect Egypt specially the western deserts and their oases from their enemies such as desert nomads, invading Libyan tribesmen, Asiatic people and Bedouin tribes. Simultaneously, Ha was a potent protector for Osiris, the Creator god, his father as well as the pharaoh.

In Brief, as a terrifying god, a war god, a gentler god, a god with strong links with the royal power, Ha has a wide and diverse field of activities; his identification allows the veil to be slight lifted on some elements of Egyptian religion.

VI. Bibliography

Allen, J. P. (2005). *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Writings from the Ancient World 23*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Altenmüller, H. (2013). "Zu zwei Titeln des Alten Reiches, ein Vorschlag zu ihrer Interpretation. Die Titel des „Priesters der Heqet“ und des „Gefolgsmanns des Ha". In M. Bárta & H. Küllmer (Eds.), *Diachronic trends in ancient Egyptian history: Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey*, pp. 1–14, Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts.

⁹⁷ See Chassinat, *Edfou VIII*, p. 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138.

⁹⁸ See Chassinat, *Edfou VIII*, p. 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138.

⁹⁹ See Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 17, pl. 8.

¹⁰⁰ See Davies (1923), *Tomb of Puyemrê*, p. 5, pl. 47.

- Beinlich, Horst** (1991), *Das Buch vom Fayum: zum religiösen Eigenverständnis einer ägyptischen Landschaft*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Borchardt, Ludwig** (1907), *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re', Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1904 I*, Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs.
- Bresciani, Edda et alii.** (1983), *Saqqara. I, Tomba di Boccari: la galleria di Padineit visir di Nectanebo I, Supplemento a Egitto e Vicino Oriente III 1980. Serie archeologica 2*, Pisa: Giardini Ed.
- Brugsch, Heinrich** (1891), *Bautexte und Inschriften verschiedenen Inhaltes altägyptischer Denkmäler, TIA 6*, Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Brunner-Traut, Emma and Brunner, Hellmut** (1981), *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, Mainz am Rhein: v. Zabern.
- Buck, Adriaan de** (1961), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII: Texts of Spells, 787-1185, OIP 87*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buck, Adriaan de** (1956), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI: Texts of Spells, 472-786, OIP 81*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buck, Adriaan de** (1954), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V: Texts of Spells, 355-471, OIP 73*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buck, Adriaan de** (1951), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts IV: Texts of Spells, 268-354, OIP 67*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buck, Adriaan de** (1938), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts II: Texts of Spells, 76-163, OIP 49*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buck, Adriaan de** (1935), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I: Texts of Spells, 1-75, OIP 34*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buhl, Marie-Louise** (1959), *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi, Nationalmuseets skrifter. Arkæologisk-historisk række 6*, Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet.
- Cauville, Sylvie** (2004), *Dendara V-VI, Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor, OLA 131-132*, Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters.
- Cauville, Sylvie** (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction, OLA 95*, Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters.
- Cauville, Sylvie** (1997), *Le Temple de Dendara: les chapelles osiriennes. Partie 1, Transcription et traduction, BiEtud 117*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Cauville, Sylvie** (1997), *Le Temple de Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennesm Dendara, X/1-2*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Chassinat, Émile** (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II, 2. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée par Sylvie Cauville et Didier Devauchelle, MMAF 11*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Chassinat, Émile and Rochemonteix, Maxence de** (1987), *Le temple d'Edfou II, 1. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée par Sylvie Cauville et Didier Devauchelle, MMAF 11*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Chassinat, Émile** (1947 and 1952), *Le Temple de Dendara V. Premier fascicule: Texte and Deuxième fascicule: Planches, Dendara 5/1*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Chassinat, Émile** (1935), « Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis », *RecTrav XXI*, Paris, 1899, pp. 56-73.
- Chassinat, Émile** (1935), *le Temple de Dendara III*, Le Caire: IFAO (2nd edition 2004).
- Chassinat, Émile** (1933), *Le temple d'Edfou VIII, MMAF 25*, Le Caire: IFAO, (2nd edition 2009).
- Chassinat, Émile** (1931), *Le temple d'Edfou VI, MMAF 23*, Le Caire: IFAO, (2nd edition 2009).
- Chassinat, Émile** (1928), *Le temple d'Edfou III, publié in extenso d'après les estampages recueillis par le marquis de Rochemonteix, MMAF 20*, Le Caire: IFAO, (2nd edition 2009).
- Chassinat, Émile Gaston and Palanque, Charles** (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout, MIFAO 24*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Chassinat, Émile** (1903), « Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis (Suite) », *RecTrav XXV*, Paris, pp. 50-62.
- Chassinat, Émile** (1900), « Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis (Suite)», *RecTrav XXII*, Paris, pp. 163-73.

- Corteggiani, Jean-Pierre** (2007), *L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux: dictionnaire illustré*, Paris: Fayard.
- Cruz-Uribe, Eugene** (1988), *Hibis Temple Project. Volume I, Translations, commentary, discussions and sign list*, San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books.
- Ćwiek, Andrzej** (2015), "Ha in Sheta", in: Z. E. Szafranski (ed.), *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 24, 2, Special Studies: Deir el-Bahari Studies*, Warsaw, pp. 83-92.
- Daumas, François** (1959), *Les Mammisis de Dendara, IFAO*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Davies, Norman de Garis** (1953), *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh oasis. Part III, The Decoration, MMAEE XVII*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Davies, Norman de Garis** (1923), *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes. Volume II, The Chapels of Hope, RPTMS III*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fakhry, Ahmed** (1942), Bahria Oasis, Vol.1, *The Egyptian deserts*, Cairo: Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
- Faulkner, Raymond Oliver** (1977), *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin texts II: Spells 355-787*, Warminster: Aris & Philips.
- Faulkner, Raymond Oliver** (1973), *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I: Spells 1-354*, Warminster: Aris & Philips.
- Faulkner, Raymond Oliver** (1969), *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Foster, John Lawrence** (2001), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: an Anthology*, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Gasse, Annie** (1996), *Les sarcophages de la troisième période intermédiaire du Museo gregoriano egizio, AegGreg 3*, Vatican City: Monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie.
- Gauthier, Henri et Lefebvre Gustave** (1923), « Sarcophages du Moyen Empire provenant de la nécropole d'Assiout », *ASAE 23*, Le Caire: IFAO, pp. 1-33.
- Gauthier, Henri** (1925-1931), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques I-VII*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Goyon, Jean-Claude** (1975), Textes mythologiques II. « Les révélations du mystère des Quatre Boules », *BIFAO 75*, Le Caire, IFAO, pp. 349-399.
- Hart George** (2005), *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Hayes, William Christopher** (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosē from Er Rizeikāt, Papers 9*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Helck, Wolfgang** (1957), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Heft 19, Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' IV. und biographische Inschriften seiner Zeitgenossen, Urk. 4, Urk. der 18. Dynastie 4, Bd. 5*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- James P. Allen et alii** (1999), *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Josephson, Jack A. and Eldamaty, Mamdouh Mohamed** (1999), *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties, CGC Nos 48601-48649*, Cairo: The Supreme Council of Antiquities Press.
- Junge, Friedrich** (1987), *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile, ArchVer 49*, Mainz: Ph. von Zabern.
- Junker, Hermann** (1939), « Phrnfr », *ZÄS 75*, Leipzig: J.C. HINRICHS VERLAG, pp. 63-84.
- Junker, Hermann** (1958), *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä. mit Zeichnungen von Otto Daum*, Wien: In Kommission bei Rudolf M. Rohrer.
- Junker, Hermann** (1934), *Gîza. II: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza. Band II: Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 70/1*, Wien; Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G.
- Kamāl, Ahmad bey** (1916), « Fouilles à Deir Dronka et à Assiout (1913-1914) », *ASAE 16*, Le Caire: IFAO, pp. 65-114.

- Kamāl, Aḥmad bey** (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, CGC Nos 22001-22208, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Kitchen, Kenneth Anderson** (2014), *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated & Annotated: Translations VII*, Malden; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Kitchen, Kenneth Anderson** (1986-1989), *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical VII*, Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.
- Koefoed-Petersen, Otto** (1951), *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens [traduit du manuscrit danois par France Gleizal en collaboration avec l'auteur]*, PGNY Carlsberg 4, Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri.
- Kurth, Dieter** (2014), *Edfou VI, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu. Abteilung 1, Übersetzungen 3*, Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag.
- Kurth, Dieter** (1998), *Edfou VIII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu. Abteilung 1, Übersetzungen 1*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Leitz Christian** (2002), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Vol. I-VII, OLA 110-116*, Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters.
- Leitz Christian** (2003), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Vol. VIII, Register, OLA 129*, Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters.
- Leitz, Christian** (1994), *Tagewählerei: das Buch ḥ3t nḥḥ pḥ.wy dt und verwandte Texte I, ÄgAbh 55*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Le Page Renouf, Peter and Naville, Edouard** (1904), *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation and Commentary*, London : The Society of biblical archæology.
- Lepsius, Richard** (1849), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: Nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV : nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845, ausgeführten Wissenschaftlichen Expedition: Auf Befehl Seiner Majestät. Zweite Abtheilung: Denkmäler des alten reichs*, Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.
- Mariette, Auguste** (1889), *Les mastabas de l'ancien empire: fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette / publié d'après le manuscrit de l'auteur par G. Maspero*, Paris: F. Vieweg.
- Maspero, Gaston** (1908), *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque. Tome premier, 1^{er} fasc., CGC Nos 29301-29303*, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Monnet, Janine** (1951), « Les briques magiques du Musée du Louvre », *RdÉ* 8, Paris: imprimerie nationale, 1951, pp. 151-162.
- Morgan, Jacques de et alii** (1895), *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Première série, Haute Égypte. Tome second, Kom Ombos. Première partie*, Vienne: Adolphe Holzhausen, imprimeur de la cour I. & R. et de l'université.
- Naville, Edouard** (1892), *The festival-hall of Osorkon II. in The great Temple of Bubastis*, EES 10, London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner.
- Naville, Edouard** (1901), *The temple of Deir El Bahari. Part IV, The shrine of Hathor and the southern hall of offerings: Plates LXXXVII-CXVIII, EEF XIX*, London: EEF.
- Osing, Jürgen** (1998), *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I. The Carlsberg papyri 2, CNI publications 17*: Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of ancient Near Eastern studies: University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Perdu, Olivier and Rickal, Elsa** (1994), *La collection égyptienne du Musée de Picardie*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Amiens: Musée de Picardie.
- Piankoff, Alexandre** (1942), *Le livre du jour et de la nuit: avec un chapitre sur l'écriture énigmatique par Étienne Drioton*, BiÉtud 13, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Redford Donald B.** (2001), *The Oxford encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Vol. I-III*, Oxford; New York; Paris: Oxford University Press.
- Reisner, George Andrew** (1942), *A History of the Giza necropolis I*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Rochemonteix, Maxence de and Chassinat, Émile** (1987), *Le temple d'Edfou I. 3. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée par Sylvie Cauville et Didier Devauchelle*, MMAF 10, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Rochemonteix, Maxence de and Chassinat, Émile** (1984), *Le temple d'Edfou I, 1. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée par Sylvie Cauville et Didier Devauchelle*, MMAF 10, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Schott, Siegfried** (1929), *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts. Heft 1: Bücher und Sprüche gegen den Gott Seth, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 6*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Scott, Gerry D.** (1986), *Ancient Egyptian art at Yale*, New Haven (Conn.): Yale university art gallery.
- Seele, Keith Cedric** (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes*, Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago press, OIP 86.
- Sethe, Kurt Heinrich** (1960), *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte: nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft; [puis] Hildesheim: G. Olms.
- Speleers, Louis** (1923), *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées royaux du cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles: Maison d'Édition I. Vanderpoorten.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm** (1906-1908), *Die demotischen Denkmäler. 2, Die demotischen Papyrus*, CGC Nos 30601-31270, 50001-50022, Strassburg: M. Dumont.
- The Epigraphic survey** (in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt) (1980), *The tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192, OIP 102*, Chicago; Illinois: *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.
- Thiem, Andrea-Christina** (2000), *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh: Analyse der architektonischen und ikonographischen Konzeption im Rahmen des politischen und legitimatorischen Programmes der Nachamarnazeit*, ÄAT 47, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Vercoutter, Jean** (1962), *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis: contribution à l'étude des stèles votives du Sérapéum*, BEHE. 4^e section: sciences historiques et philologiques 316, Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion.
- Verhoeven, Ursula** (1993), *Das saïtische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207 I-3, Teil 1: Text/ mit einem Beitrag von Peter Dils; Teil 2: Hieroglyphische Transkription und Tafeln; Teil 3: Beilagen, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 41*, Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Vernus, Pascal** (1978), *Athribis: textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes et à l'histoire d'une ville du delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique*, Bibliothèque d'étude 74, Le Caire: IFAO.
- Wildung, Dieter** (1972), «Two Representations of Gods from the Early Old Kingdom », *Miscellanea Wilbouriana I*, Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, pp. 145-160.
- Wildung, Dietrich** (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt I*, MÄS 17, Berlin: B. Hesslin.
- Wilkinson Richard H.** (2003), *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, New York: Thames & Hudson.